1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows:

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approcahed only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)*—a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking.

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free.

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8).

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased [587] brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no [585] first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash [291] her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under
● 837 his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his [586] jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge her- [768] self either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women [776] sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men, which was washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of about half a mile from the camp, was frequently exposed, and might easily have been carried off unperceived. But none of it was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that a more honest, or friendly and better disposed people does not exist under the sun.

142 They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally, or physically. We [181] find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and the beauty, and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds. They are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned. Their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; countenances open and expressive, which reflect every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as models for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance. The skin of the men is of a dark copper colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown. The first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing open and intelligent countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men. Their limbs and hands, (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, 837 and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence, and susceptible of improvement; the second is said to be natural to the sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands, and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers. Every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property.

291 The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahkee*, the second *cahu*, and the third

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

1804. May. bouring nation, and accordingly they are generally stolen. This occasions a war of six, and sometimes of twelve, months: its duration, however, depends upon the nearest relation of the deceased priest; who, as soon as he is acquainted with his death, retires to a place of taboo; and, till he chooses to come out, the blood of the two parties does not cease to flow. During his retirement, he is furnished with every thing he may require, human flesh not excepted.

Former voyagers have asserted, that the Marquesan men and women have no individual attachments, but cohabit promiscuously, as inclination may dictate. This, however, is a mistake: the marriage state is held nearly as sacred among them as it is among any uncivilized people It is true indeed, fathers sometimes offered us their daughters, and husbands their wives; but this proceeded from their ardent desire of possessing iron, or other European articles, which, in their estimation, are above all price. This out of the question, jealousy is so prevalent with the men, that upon the smallest suspicion of infidelity, they punish their wives with severity. Though there is no law here against adultery, any more than against any other crime, there is a custom so generally sanctioned respecting it, that it on some occasions supplies the place of law: which is, that if a husband knows his wife to have been unfaithful to him, he may endeavour to seduce the wife of the adulterer, and avenge his own wrong by possessing her. The only ceremony relating to marriage that takes place in the Marquesa islands, is this: If a young man falls in love with a girl, and his love is returned, he endeavours to get possession of her person; or, failing in this, goes immediately and claims her of her parents; and, if they consent, he takes up his

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

specialized in particular occupations, such as canoe making or carving. The products were distributed by means of a thoroughly organized trade in the form of social visits with gift exchanges. A tribe specializing in yellow dye would arrive with canoe-loads of the stuff. These expeditions were led by the chief, who was accompanied by perhaps one hundred men. They would start with a formal social gathering, during which sexual hospitality was usually extended to the visitors. Then the cargoes were presented. No mention was made of payment, but just before the visitors left, they would suggest indirectly that there was a shortage of a certain commodity in their tribe. Their hosts would then beg them to accept of their surplus of this commodity. The exchange was carried on with mutual benefit but no attempt to drive a shrewd bargain. Although a few objects might be brought for personal trade, the main load of the tribe's specialty was owned by the chief, and private individuals could not use any of it for trade purposes. Trade was organized by the chief, but at the close of the transaction, the goods would be prorated to all members of the tribe. Individual surpluses were exchanged on a quite similar basis, care being taken to eliminate the profit motive in all cases. These trade visits were still going on while I was in the Marquesas, although they had become of little importance.

Imperishable property, such as weapons, carvings, tools, and ornaments, was constantly changing hands, but the objects retained their names and individuality in the transfer. Gift exchange was as essential to social prestige as the giving of feasts. There is no question that, by primitive standards, the Marquesans were a wealthy group. All the early explorers made mention of the great number of things they had in their houses, rows of weapons, carved bowls, mats, etc. The explanation lies in the fact that they had a great deal of leisure, which they employed in making things. These articles were accumulated and handed down.

The Marquesans had a high standard of comfort. Their beds were the most luxurious to be found in the South Seas. The

/34/

After puberty, males usually have their first complete heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/46 cont./ In serving sexual needs for "elderly" men of 50 or over, the promiscuous girls are sometimes faced with the necessity of coping with impotence by fellatio, the standard remedy for the problem. If complete erection is impossible, fellation is carried to the point of orgasm, or mutual simultaneous oral stimulation is practiced. This is apparently preferred by virtue of the fact that it provides the female partner with satisfactory stimulation and release.

Sexual partners for the promiscuous girl, then, include young unmarried males, the older males who are married and strangers of all races and nationalities. Selection of sexual partners from this group is a rather arbitrary process, as far as the Marquesan males are concerned. The girls are generally quite fickle and seem to prefer to carry on a number of liaisons at once: one predominant, and a number of fluctuating arrangements of a subordinate nature. There is little if any rivalry between the males who occupy these positions, as the girls are not valued as potential mates but merely as sexual outlets only, and /47/ it is well understood that attainment of their favors is a matter of patience in waiting one's turn. In many cases, a promiscuous girl will take two or three boys as temporary husbands and will copulate with each in full view of the others. Simultaneous stimulation of the female by two or more males occurs, one copulating, the other stimulating the breasts.

Intercourse with these girls is quite frequently of a serial nature. A group of boys will approach the girl and make a direct request that they be sexually served. The order of service has usually been previously decided among the boys. If the request is granted, the group will go to an available house or an isolated place in the bush. If the bush is available, the girl does not usually remove her clothing; although she may receive the males in the nude if a house is available. Foreplay in such contexts is nonexistant, except possibly for the first male of the group. Cunnilinctus is never performed in such circumstances, although fellation is not unheard of. The waiting males often sit around the copulating pair, watching and joking. In some cases, they indulge in some

/62 cont./ The 586
dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, 197
however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving 797
the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention [648]
preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized 595
ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the [183]
realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and [466]
relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in [178]
the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal culture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in 554
much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. 837●
It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships. [123]

/63 cont./ 554
two from adult males, one from a 15-year old boy. Natives 837
who knew of these offers indicated that prestige factors were [123]
involved.

Marital sexual relations differ in a number of respects 585
from the typical premarital pattern. These changes generally 833
transpire gradually during the initial months of a permanent union, when the couple is becoming accustomed to each other.

/64/ First, a gradual decrease in intercourse frequency occurs, while the actual duration of intercourse increases and steps are taken to prolong endurance. No data could be obtained on frequency from a sufficient sample of married couples to give any reliability, but two long-married couples of our acquaintance supplied information: one couple copulated routinely once a night, while the other couple copulated five times per night, two to three nights each week. This demonstrates quite a sizable variation in practice which is obviously completely expectable. Such frequencies contrast markedly with the premarital data, however, and the contrast in behavior is recognized and verbalized by the natives.

The duration of intercourse increases up to 10 minutes or 50 in many cases. Prolongation of the act by coitus interruptus is attempted and in some cases a ligature around the scrotum is believed to delay the male's orgasm and/or ejaculation. Obviously, the prolongation of the act is possible in a recognized union, as the fear of being apprehended is completely removed and the couple is completely at leisure.

Changes in techniques employed also appear. Nudity [291]
(ha'a puaka) in the sex act is more common, and the foreplay increases, although very little. The more leisurely atmosphere evidently is conducive to experimentation, as oral stimulation of the genitalia is common as a prelude or an interlude in the sex act, and is occasionally indulged to the point of orgasm.

/65/ A considerable variety of positions of sexual inter- 192
course (titoi, heko) appear during marriage. Positions identi- 585
fied by informants were: 833

1. titoi kaukau (intercourse on the side) - male lies on side, facing supine female. Also known as

/66 cont./ 585 833 [192] [195]
of the opposite sex. In mixed company ke'a, mo'e piki, or hano are used.

During the act, married women display their excitation with more abandon than in the premarital period.

In marital sexual relations, there is no after-play. Both individuals go out and wash, one after the other, and then may go to sleep or resume sexual intercourse.

Impotency among robust males below the old-age level 159 833 837 is relatively rare. During our stay, we only encountered one male who suffered from this condition. Another historic case of a well-known chief who was impotent with his wife was recounted. In the one case observed, the individual was married to an attractive woman who remained with him, but /67/ compensated by engaging in extramarital intercourse with high frequency, often making little attempt to conceal her liaisons from her husband. He displayed an attitude of resignation and often disinterest concerning her unions with his personal friends, but became irate when he suspected she was having relations with individuals that he did not like. His relations with his wife were limited to mutual oral stimulation of the genitals, performed infrequently. The rest of the community regarded him with some pity, often expressing wonderment as to the basis of his condition, in view of the fact that he had won renown as a youth for excessive virility and potency. His appellation was Hati - "Broken" - an obvious reference to his affliction. [551] During our stay, Hati appeared to be extremely maladjusted. His conversation was [158] often irrational, and he was obsessed with the topic of sexual potency. He drank to excess by the culture's standards, remaining drunk throughout a good part of the day, several days [733] a week. He worked rarely, and was an indifferent worker when he was employed. Shortly after our return to the United States, we received information that he had developed a full-blown psychosis, necessitating hospitalization. [1587]

Impotency in elderly males is not regarded as unusual. 833 Oral stimulation is practiced in such cases, as in that cited 888 above. [832]

/67 cont./

No information could be obtained on frigidity; therefore, it is impossible to state whether it exists or not. 833

Extramarital relations are common, appearing quite soon after marriage and increasing in frequency as the couple approaches middle /68/ age. The male seeks sexual partners mainly among the wives of friends (many of whom may have been former lovers), promiscuous girls in the community, and the younger virginal girls with whom a married man often plays the role of sexual initiator. Relationships may also be with daughters-in-law (which is not considered incestuous) or with blood relatives. The contacts take place most frequently in the bush, either by plan or chance, and at drinking bouts. 837 [835]

Females seek sexual partners among married males, and the young boys of the community. Contacts take place most frequently during the day when husbands are away from the house working their copra lands or gardens, as well as at night when husbands are likely to be out fishing.

Contacts of this type revert often to premarital behavior patterns: intercourse is rapid and devoid of elaboration or variation. [833]

Homosexuality involving married individuals is rare and practiced only under conditions of enforced abstinence. There is some indication that adult males prefer younger boys for this purpose, as the preference is frequently verbalized, the observation being made that young boys have softer bodies, more like those of girls. Such contacts are casual and fleeting, and do not lead to any permanent relationship between the parties involved. Permanent relationships are considered to be characteristic of the deviant mahu or male homosexual, and are regarded as unnatural. 838

/69/ Bestiality is indulged in by married individuals as an emergency practice in situations of abstinence. Chickens are commonly used by males for copulation, and dogs are used as cunnilinctors by females. 839

Extramarital exploits are most carefully concealed in most cases, but news generally leaks out, as it is seldom possible to conceal anything for long in communities of between 837 521

/69 cont./ 837 527

two and three hundred people, such as one finds in most valleys. Furthermore, one or both partners will brag to confidants who will immediately spread the news.

Extramarital relations, if discovered, usually arouse 684 extreme manifestations of sexual jealousy (to makou) in the [152] injured party. Wives who are known or suspected to have had extramarital relations are generally beaten by their husbands. Often the beating is rather light, with slapping blows directed about the head and shoulders. More rarely, a closed fist is used. It is very rare that any objects are used to inflict injury. One individual was encountered who punished his wife's indiscretions by beating her with a stick or the flat of his machete, but he was regarded as being excessively cruel. It 834 is regarded as unseemly for a woman to display much interest 837 in any male who is a potential sexual partner, unless he is a very good friend of her husband and highly trusted or already in a permissive sexual relationship with the woman. Women who deviate from this rule of conduct by talking to strangers, especially of topics bordering on sex, or of displaying pleasure in the presence and conversation of another male are likely to [518] be sharply /70/ reprimanded as well as beaten. Older women in a family observe the actions of young daughters-in-law in the household for such misconduct, and may act themselves or relay the information to the husband.

When confronted with actual or suspected infidelity of 837 a mate, the male assumes a posture of righteous anger, but rarely uses physical violence on anyone but his wife. A man may make slighting remarks to one who has cuckolded him, but physical violence is quite rare.

Women who suspect husbands of being unfaithful respond by adapting a behavior pattern in which they display moods of depression and/or shrewish irritability. One informant said that his wife became tearful upon learning of an exploit of his, and spent a day or so sobbing intermittently, saying that he no longer loved her. She then became very aggressive and continually interpreted innocuous statements of his as referring to his paramour, continually ordering him to leave the house and go to the other woman. She then

/70 cont./
lapsed into another period of depression. Such behavior usually 837
results in infuriating the husband, and the wife may receive [833]
a beating, followed by forced sexual intercourse. This practice is regarded as being the best remedy for sexual jealousy, and usually speeds the re-establishment of normal relations for a time.

Sex in Later Life

Reasonably frequent sexual relations are carried on by 833 887
individuals in the sixties and seventies. Males of this age are often capable of normal copulation, with greatly reduced frequency. Fellatio and /71/ cunnilinctus are practiced. Elderly men often seek out younger women as sexual partners, as well as engaging in sexual relations with their mates.

Elderly women often indulge in brief liaisons with much younger males who cannot find sexual partners in their own age group. A woman of 65 spent the night with a copra schooner sailor about 35 years of age and was not subjected to any censure whatsoever. Another elderly woman, who had been a well-known promiscuous girl in her youth, was frequently a sexual partner for younger males, on occasion soliciting their attentions.

Sex in Humour

Marquesans place great emphasis on one's ability to in- 521 522
dulge in light, rapid-fire banter, using witticisms which span a 831
range from subtle puns and esoteric allusions of a nature understood by only one or a few of the onlookers to what in our society would be termed the more coarse kinds of humour. Much Marquesan humour is sexual or at least related to a sexual topic.

In mixed company, under normal circumstances, care is taken to refrain from using the tapu expressions which have been discussed previously, referring to the male and female genitalia or the sex act. In such cases, the more subtle expressions and figures of speech are used; and often the conversation can be completely misunderstood. New circumlocutions

/107 cont./ 114 562 833 [177]
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among [864] children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physiologically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial intercourse episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40 males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of female dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833 may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching (nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115] reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836] intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837] would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many informants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554] sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however; furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182 in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

/111 cont./ 178 595 [622]
fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available. [162] [114]

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death. [622] [996]

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy). [538]

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century. 837 [538] [182]

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action. 178 762 [797]

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the 121